THE OTTO JOHN STORY BY CAROLUS

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

August 21, 1954
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# Mendes-France
## Europe's 'Last Reserve'?
*by Alexander Werth*

# The Decision-Makers
## Can You Name Them?
*by Floyd Hunter*

BOOK REVIEWS

Africa: Hope and Danger *by Melville J. Herskovits*

Ira Wolfert on Ben Hecht

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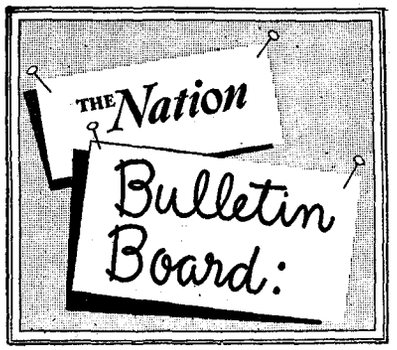


HERE'S A cheering note for liberals: in his *Nation* article, Daughters of Vigilantism (January 9, 1954), Ralph S. O'Leary touched on the mushrooming of crackpot political groups and the danger of their development into a major political force. This week William G. Carleton (page 150) presents his survey of the "super-patriotic" organizations in the Southwest and his estimate that their prestige is now on the decline. He also dispels, happily, some widely held misconceptions about the state of politics in Texas.

INDIA'S KRISHNA MENON rarely grants personal interviews, but was willing to be interviewed by Sam A. Jaffe exclusively for *The Nation*. The story will appear in next week's issue. Ben Shahn, the distinguished artist, has drawn a portrait of Menon for our cover.

ALLEN SEAGER, author of "Amos Berry," suggests that his forthcoming study of American business men as they appear in such novels as "Executive Suite" be called "Our Contemporary Rubber Bread." The editors have taken the title under advisement: but whatever it is called, Seager's article is sure to be stimulating reading.

IN TRIAL BY VIOLENCE, which was printed in *The Nation* of July 3, Fredric G. Wertham, the psychiatrist, told the story of his part in the trial of Paul H. Pfeffer for the murder of Edward Bates. Wertham testified that in his judgment Pfeffer did not murder Bates; that a "confession" introduced by the prosecution was forced. His testimony, casting doubt on the validity of the confession, is credited with saving Pfeffer from the electric chair. Instead, the twenty-two-year-old youth received a twenty-year prison sentence. Subsequently another man confessed to the crime, and it must be a great source of gratification to Wertham that Pfeffer was released from jail last week. The perception of another man occupied with the case is also worth noting. Fred Cook, a veteran rewrite man on the New York *World-Telegram*, was the first to pinpoint the inconsistencies in Pfeffer's alleged "confession." A rewrite man seldom gets a chance to help solve a murder case; but Cook is one who used his brains and did.

SEVERAL READERS have asked for the source of the statement that Jacques Duclos, the French Communist leader, referred to Pierre Mendès-France as "that dirty Jew." The statement appeared in *Life*, July 19, 1954, page 85.

WE'LL HAVE SOME important—and good—news on our book club, The Nation's Choice, for you in a week or two.

CONTRIBUTING EDITOR Bruce Catton, author of the Pulitzer prize-winner "A Stillness at Appomatox," has just been appointed editor of a new journal to be published quarterly by the Society of American Historians, at 26 Lilac Lane, Princeton, New Jersey. The magazine will be bound in hard covers, run to 120 pages, and cost $10 a year. No advertising—all solid history.

HAROLD WARD, public-information officer of the United Mine Workers, says we could not have got better newspapermen to do the survey on the depression in the coal industry—Sick Coal and Hungry Men—which appeared August 7. He emphasizes the bolstering effect of the U. M. W. Welfare Fund on the distressed communities: "I am sure you are aware of the enormous financial lift that results from payment of $100 monthly pensions to miners over sixty years of age in a community where coal is predominant. Last year there were more than 50,000 retired coal miners receiving the pension. Over the nation, this amounted to almost $60,000,000."

THE SUDDEN DEATH of Vito Marcantonio this month recalled to some of our staff the time when *The Nation* and Marcantonio's law firm occupied the same floor at 20 Vesey Street. They remember the fiery, ex-Congressman as an amiable neighbor—if one with whom they had sharp political differences. However, despite the differences, their reaction now is much the same as that expressed by three New York Congressmen. Representative Multer said a person might differ with Marcantonio's views but still would have to respect him; Emmanuel Celler said Marcantonio "always fought hard and fair for what he thought was fair"; and Arthur G. Klein said he was proud to call Marcantonio a friend; he added that there were other members of Congress who liked him although "perhaps not everyone will admit it."

MARTIN SOLOW

# Letters

## The Brothers Dulles

*Dear Sirs:* In view of the recent demise of Guatemalan democracy, it might be well to point out that the Brothers Dulles are not the first partners of the New York law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell to have achieved some satisfaction from a successfully engineered Latin American revolution. Take the case of William Nelson Cromwell, who played such a prominent part in the liberation of Panama from Colombia at the turn of the century. As legal counsel for the French canal company, then trying to convince Congress of the superior merits of a Panama over a Nicaragua canal, Cromwell spared nothing. A $60,000 contribution to the Republican campaign fund he charged up as a "necessary expense" to his French clients, to whom he later submitted a bill for $800,000 for services rendered. While J. P. Morgan provided financial assistance to the chief French agent, Bunau Varilla, Cromwell encouraged Panamanian secessionists to believe that they might expect as much as $6,000,000 from Theodore Roosevelt's "secret fund." Finally, the hired Colombian revolutionaries, aided and abetted by the United States navy, brought off the revolution which had been hatched in Room 1162 of the Waldorf-Astoria.

The Guatemalan episode has nothing on this. Nor was the lesson lost here in London, where *Punch* celebrated the Fourth of July with a cartoon portraying the Statue of Liberty holding a bunch of bananas with a United Fruit Company label. The Spanish caption read: *Statua de Liberación.*

Even in his own time such actions made Cromwell, in the words of Senator Charles S. Thomas of Colorado, "the arch-plotter of his time, the manipulator of legislation, the adviser of home and foreign ministers, the designer of successful revolutions, the master of intrigue, the betrayer of his country's honor among the nations." Shortly thereafter Woodrow Wilson, once president of the Princeton where the Brothers Dulles received their "education" in pietism, patriotism, and political economy, moved to the White House. The change in residence did nothing to alter his professorial manner. He was "determined to teach the Mexicans to elect good presidents," and the sainted Woodrow, who was elected President so that he might teach the vested interests to behave decently, ended up by being responsible for more United States armed interventions in Latin American affairs than all his predecessors combined.

Perhaps, some day, Americans will

*(Continued on page 160)*

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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

# The Shape of Things

## Edwards Off the Air

We find it hard to believe that the A. F. of L. dropped its forthright news commentator, Frank Edwards, solely for the reasons given by President Meany. His chief explanation is that Mr. Edwards mingled opinion and news without saying which was which and weighted his programs on the side of labor and the A. F. of L. The first point is unconvincing; the second astonishing. Edwards's broadcasts were so plainly interpretative in tone and content that no one could have possibly been misled into thinking they were anything else. He was a news analyst, not a reporter. His commentaries did reflect broadly the interests and views of labor. What Mr. Meany called "biased" and "colored" sounded to us like the legitimate judgment of an honest spokesman. And so we suspect that behind the pious explanations of the A. F. of L. president must lie some substantial clash of opinion which may yet come to light.

Whatever the facts, we shall miss the broadcasts of Frank Edwards, not because we always agreed with his views, for we did not, but because they were outspoken, intelligent, liberal, and informed. These days the air waves carry mighty few broadcasts that can be so characterized.

## The New Tax Law

The new tax law, with its handouts to business enterprise and stockholders, is being defended as an antidote to recession. More liberal treatment of depreciation, it is claimed, will encourage industrial expansion; rebates to dividend receivers will stimulate venture capital.

These arguments would be more impressive if backed by evidence that the economic setback was in any way related to a lag in private investment. Actually, the trouble can be traced to a quite different cause—the failure of consumption to keep pace with the flood of goods pouring from our immensely expanded industrial plant. Since the end of the war, despite the competition of defense programs, despite high taxes, industry has found no difficulty in raising funds for new factories and more efficient equipment. Ample incentive for expansion was provided by a tremendous demand for goods of all kinds. But during the past year supply has not merely caught up with that demand in a great many industries but outstripped it, and as a result industrial production has fallen by 8 per cent.

No doubt the new tax concessions will encourage some business men to instal more efficient equipment or to develop new products. But by and large industrialists are likely to hesitate to invest additional capital until they see consumption taking an upward trend. From this point of view, the tax bill puts additional spending power in the wrong hands. It may swell the savings of the well-to-do, but savings are already tending to outrun the demand for capital, which is one reason why stock prices are becoming inflated. It will not, however, add appreciably to consumer spending, and that is what is needed. In the long run not only the general public but business also would have benefited if the Administration had thought less about the tribulations of the higher brackets and more about the needs of persons with small incomes. We say this notwithstanding the President's rather premature announcement of the end of the recession.

## Nixon-Knowland Feud

The bitter feud between Vice-President Nixon and Senator Knowland, which has long been simmering beneath a carefully preserved façade of reciprocal devotion, got completely out of hand at the recent Sacramento meeting of the Republican State Committee. Now in the open, the feud will not be easily settled.

The trouble began when Representative Patrick J. Hillings, a Nixon protégé who hopes to replace Senator Kuchel two years hence, arrived in California to direct an artfully prepared campaign to win the committee's vice-chairmanship for a Nixon-backed candidate. (The vice-chairmanship is a great prize this year, since the person chosen will, by tradition, succeed to the chairmanship in the crucial convention year of 1956 and have a hand in the selection of delegates.) Alarmed, Senators Knowland and Kuchel promptly flew to Sacramento, and Governor Goodwin J. Knight interrupted his honeymoon to join them there in a determined and successful effort to crush the putsch. Once the Governor, who controls state patronage, joined forces with the two Senators, who control federal patronage, the Nixon plot was frustrated. But this alliance is likely to prove transient. Senators Knowland and Kuchel are both Warren men, and

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Governor Knight never got along well with Warren. Under pressure from the Governor, "the Nixon crowd" agreed that the vice-chairmanship should go to Howard Ahmanson, who is pro-Knight rather than pro-Nixon or pro-Knowland. At least the Governor contends that such an understanding was reached; the Nixonites deny it.

That the Nixon-Knowland feud could have an important bearing on the Republican Presidential nomination in 1956 is suggested by a little-noticed incident which took place during the Sacramento meeting. At an Oakland luncheon honoring Chief Justice Warren, a tactless toastmaster referred to him as "the next candidate for President of the United States." Furious, the Chief Justice was on his feet instantly to say that the suggestion was "improper" and that no one present should give "any furtherance to it." One can be sure that Chief Justice Warren's indignation was unfeigned, but the reference raises an interesting question all the same. Should President Eisenhower decide not to run in 1956, around whom could the feuding California Republicans unite? Who would control the important California delegation? And, with Eisenhower out, who could unite a badly split G. O. P. nationally? "In Washington," reports the political editor of the Los Angeles *Daily News*, "the biggest rumor floating around inner circles is that if Eisenhower refuses to run for a second term Chief Justice Warren may be drafted. Reason: too many Republicans won't take Vice-President Richard Nixon and there's a feud between Nixon and Senator William F. Knowland." He might have added: too many Eisenhower Republicans won't take Senator Knowland but vastly admire the Chief Justice. The key to Republican unity in California could therefore prove to be the key to national unity.

# The Dulles Record

SECRETARY OF STATE DULLES has a variety of pains in the neck. But that chronic soreness, which even Aunt Sarah's Miracle Ointment won't cure, comes from conducting international affairs while continuously glancing over his shoulder at Congress. From the day it took office, the Eisenhower Administration has let domestic politics dominate its foreign policy.

Of course it is perfectly reasonable for the Executive to strive for smooth relations with the legislature. The classic instance of failure to obey this logic was Woodrow Wilson's neglect of Congress, with America's consequent refusal to ratify the Versailles Treaty and join the League of Nations. To avoid any comparable dilemma after becoming Secretary of State, Dulles set out to establish a beachhead for his policy on Capitol Hill. The trouble is he has never got beyond the beach.

In some ways Dulles is the answer to Moscow's prayer. Just as Washington dreams of splitting Peking




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from Moscow, so the Kremlin's fancy turns to developing fissures in the anti-Communist alliance. No willing ally of the Cominform, Dulles has nevertheless shown aptitude for inciting dissension between the United States and its partners.

It began right after President Eisenhower entered the White House. In his first state-of-the-union message he proclaimed the "unleashing" of Chiang Kai-shek's forces on Formosa. The impression conveyed was that the Chinese Nationalists were poised for a mass attack on the Chinese mainland. While this passage in the President's address to the joint session of Congress won a tremendous ovation on the spot, it startled our allies. But they soon discovered, to their relief, that when the wraps were removed from Chiang, he turned out to be just an old exile on an island. Our own Asia Firsters for whom the President, Admiral Radford, and Secretary Dulles produced the stunt, ultimately came to regret this exposure of the Generalissimo's impotence.

Next was the fabulous repudiation of the Yalta agreements among the United States, Britain, and the U. S. S. R. During the 1952 G. O. P. convention in Chicago, Richard Nixon and the American ex-ambassador to Poland, Arthur Bliss Lane, were among those who prevailed on Dulles to write this idea into the Republican foreign-policy plank. After the election the Administration tried to embody it in a resolution to be adopted by Congress. When put on paper, however, it revealed the Russians rather than F. D. R., Truman, or Acheson as the culprits. This was not what the G. O. P. leadership had ordered. So the entire Yalta-repudiation scheme was shoved into a pigeonhole, where it lies forgotten. The British government, a cosignatory at Yalta, had been against the repudiation right along but was not consulted.

The plan did its immediate job, though. It undoubtedly induced a few thousand additional Americans of Polish or other Soviet-satellite origin to vote Republican. The episode was matched by the Dulles-inspired Eisenhower campaign speech promising "liberation" to peoples under Communist rule from the Baltic to the China Sea. This theme, too, was presently watered down and then abandoned, but not before it had horrified our allies and provided the Kremlin with "proof" of our warlike intentions.

During his first month in office Dulles broadcast an "ultimatum" to France to ratify the European-army treaty at once or face an end of American aid. He seemed to be using his great authority to corroborate Communist propaganda about France's satellite relationship to the United States. When the French reacted with understandable indignation, Dulles flew to Paris to soothe them. They gradually calmed down on being assured that his words were beamed to Western Republicans who had to be reconciled to the annual foreign-aid bill.

Speaking at Williamsburg, Virginia, on May 15 this year, Dulles resumed his obeisances to the right-wing Republicans, bowing so low that he again fell on his face. He produced this gem: "The Soviet rulers occasionally tell us that there could be 'coexistence' between their society and ourselves. We must, however, beware of these professions." This was his most successful effort yet to make America appear as the leader of the anti-peace camp.

AGAINST his saner judgment Dulles has gone most of the way with the wild men concerning China. In April, 1953, as guest of some Washington newsmen at dinner, the Secretary mentioned a U. N. trusteeship for Formosa as a possible eventual road to compromise with Red China. The story was printed. William Knowland, G. O. P. leader in the Senate and champion of all those antique China eggs, demanded an explanation of President Eisenhower. So Dulles wrote a disavowal of his remarks on Formosa, and the White House issued it.

Dulles knows that United States spending in Japan has just shrunk from $800,000,000 to some $400,000,000 a year and will continue to evaporate as we reduce the American garrison there. He is aware that unless Japan is allowed to return to the China market, its economy will head for disaster. Or does Mr. Eisenhower intend to fling open the American market to Japanese exports?

After all his fine words on freer trade, the President has made one of his most ignoble retreats in this field. He might have settled with the protectionists in his party last spring by merely scrapping the proposed three-year prolongation of the Reciprocal Trade Act. But he topped this by his July 28 order raising by as much as 50 per cent the tariff on imported watches and watch movements.

Four Senators were especially active in attempting to influence the President on this issue. One was Leverett Saltonstall (R., Mass.), who is up for reelection on November 2 and is chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee; the Waltham Watch Company is in the Saltonstall constituency. Senator Everett Dirksen (R., Ill.) has the Elgin Watch Company in his home state, and Dirksen's access to the White House is eased by his role as chairman of the G. O. P. senatorial campaign committee. Location of the Hamilton Watch Company in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, explains why the two Senators from Pennsylvania, James H. Duff and Edward Martin, were extremely active in this affair. Duff was chairman of the subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee to investigate the importance of the United States watch industry for national defense.

The President cited defense needs as the major motive for hoisting the tariff. But careful reading of the June 30, 1954, report by the Department of Defense suggests



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that much or most of the military needs for fuses and similar items can be filled outside the watch industry. It seems that the local interests of a small band of influential Republican Senators played a decisive part in a Presidential decision which stultifies Mr. Eisenhower's liberal-trade professions. It is a textbook illustration of domestic politics distorting our foreign relations.

Senatorial weight tilted the scales last year, too, with the appointment of Scott McLeod as the State Department's chief security officer. The chairman of the powerful Senate Appropriations Committee, Styles Bridges, arranged the transfer of McLeod from his—Bridges's—office in the Capitol to be the principal snooper among the large personnel of American diplomacy. Friend and confidant of Joe McCarthy, McLeod reduced morale in this branch of government service to a new low. Finally even Dulles felt constrained to curtail his authority, though he is still dreaded in those rare spots where a trace of liberalism survives in the State Department and in our foreign missions.

Dulles's eagerness to curry favor with the rightists in Congress explains his historic fluff of March 29 this year in calling for united action—which, he said, "might involve serious risks"—to repel communism in Southeast Asia. Having failed to consult them, he had to hear from the British and French governments that they were strongly disinclined to incur the risk of war against China and Russia.

# The Sources of Power

NOWADAYS virtually every report on an actual political situation in American society reveals the discrepancy between democratic myth and operative reality. Whatever comes under scrutiny—the procedures by which presidential, or even vice-presidential, candidates are selected, the formulation of a "new look" in military policy, or the operation of a city government—specific analyses fail to sustain traditional democratic theory that the power lies in the hands of the people. Where, then, does it lie? This is the obviously basic socio-political problem which Floyd Hunter has set himself to solve in his provocative article beginning on page 148 of this issue.

Last year the University of North Carolina Press published Mr. Hunter's "Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers," which analyzes in detail the power structure in Regional City, a Southern metropolis. By using a selected list of fourteen individuals as "judges," Mr. Hunter was able to identify forty men who are "the decision-makers for the total community." These forty leaders, he found, "are able to enforce their decisions by persuasion, intimidation, coercion, and, if necessary, force." The test for admission to this top level is almost entirely a man's position in business: "The pattern of business dominance in Regional City is a fact." All other institutions—family, church, state, education, civic organizations—are in a subordinate position because of their dependence upon business support. "The organization leaders are prone to get the publicity," Mr. Hunter remarks. "The upper echelon, the leaders, have the power."

Mr. Hunter is convinced that cooperation among men of power derives from "value agreement" rather than deliberate conniving. But the effect seems to be the same. Once a policy is established, the demand for strict conformity is immediate and overwhelming: "It is only on the unsettled issues that discussion is permissible." Thus our democratic society is not entirely innocent of the taint of totalitarianism. Professionals employed by the policy-makers, adds Mr. Hunter, are expected to discuss only minor matters: ". . . whether there shall or shall not be a new hospital or day nursery or the like."

From his study of Regional City, Mr. Hunter is now lifting his sights to examine the power pattern in the nation. The article in this issue is the first fruit of his broader study, which ultimately will result in a second book. It is no disparagement of this sociologist's valuable contribution to an important problem to indicate what we believe are certain weaknesses in his approach. Many may agree with us that he places too heavy an emphasis on individual men of power and minimizes organized power; that he tends to slight the political process, as well as the means by which economic or social power is translated into political terms. In any case his subject is of great importance. *The Nation's* editors, who have long advocated social planning with the sanction of the federal government, must perforce admit that such planning can hardly be fruitful so long as the existing sources of power remain unidentified. We shall welcome comment from our readers on Mr. Hunter's work.

# Who Should Be Censured?

LAST WEEK "freedom's bastion," the Fifth Amendment, was surrounded and largely dismantled after a scant forty-minute debate in the House and a carefree "voice vote" in the Senate. Indeed, the history of the immunity bill suggests that Congress has ceased to be a deliberative body. The House, which did at least hold hearings, recommended the bill for passage despite unanimous opposition by bar associations and general opposition that was nearly as strong. In the Senate no hearings were held, there was virtually no debate, and final approval was registered *without a roll call.*

Frankly characterized as "a device to get around the Fifth Amendment," the bipartisan bill as finally passed would compel witnesses to testify against themselves in "national-security" cases before courts, grand juries,



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and Congressional committees once a federal judge had granted them immunity. The bizarre reasoning of the bill's sponsors is characteristic of the times: so many witnesses have invoked the protection of the Fifth Amendment, it is said, that it can be restored to public favor only by restricting its use! The same reasoning would dispose of the First Amendment, and if Congress were consistent it would "get around" the Sixth Amendment in some fashion, since many more citizens demand juries and the right to counsel than plead the Fifth Amendment. As passed, the bill will aggravate the abuses of the very committees whose members, purposes, and procedures are currently under myopic Congressional scrutiny. "Uncooperative witnesses" will now face a choice of risks: jail for contempt or possible perjury prosecutions based on minor discrepancies in testimony coerced by "due process." It may be argued that, given the heat of Washington and the length of the session in this election year, the Senate need not hold hearings or seriously debate even measures as important as the immunity bill, but at least they should be read and studied. This measure, as Congressman Celler said, is "so loosely drawn that it rattles."

But if the Senate acted in shameless disregard of its constitutional responsibilities in passing the immunity bill by voice vote, how is one to characterize its action in adopting, by a vote of 85 to 0, a measure to outlaw the Communist Party? It all began as a debate on Senator John M. Butler's bill to deny collective-bargaining right to "red-dominated" unions (see Tooling Up for Mass Repression by Laurent B. Frantz, *The Nation,* December 12, 1953). Under pressure from the leadership of the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. it had been more or less agreed that the best way to head off the bill would be to set up a Presidential commission to study this and some twelve other bills dealing with subversion. To this end, Senator Magnuson had introduced such a resolution. Meanwhile, however, Senator Hubert Humphrey, up for reelection this year, concluded that it would be "smart strategy" to counter the Butler bill by proposing a measure to outlaw the Communist Party. This suggestion met with such "wide acceptance"—we are quoting a Congressional leader—that it undercut the support which might otherwise have been given to Senator Magnuson's resolution. As it was, his "study-commission" proposal got only thirty-one votes. The Democratic leadership then, as a matter of policy, formally adopted Senator Humphrey's proposal, which was offered as a substitute for the Butler bill. But Senator Price Daniels, a Democrat, crossed up the party leaders by adding the Butler bill to Senator Humphrey's proposal. Not to be outbid in this cheap game of demagoguery, Senator Knowland promptly announced that the combination measure was a good idea. Horrified, a number of saner Senators—another credit goes here to Senator John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky—began offering all kinds of amendments, many of which were adopted with scarcely any consideration, for by this time the scene had become one of "great confusion."

Here, once again, the Democratic "liberals" have outsmarted themselves in their neurotic, election-year anxiety to escape the charge of being "soft on communism" even at the expense of sacrificing constitutional rights. When the McCarran Act, which became the Internal Security Act, was before the Senate in 1950, Senator Paul Douglas argued that the bill was "ineffective" because it did not "go far enough" in attempting to curb communism. A group of seven Senate "liberals," all Democrats, then offered the detention-camp proposal as an amendment, thinking it would discredit the bill itself —or so they said. But, as now, they were caught in their own trap, and the amendment was eagerly accepted by the Republicans. What *The Nation* said on that occasion applies with added force to this latest upset:

> We are aware of the pressures that beat down [1950, like 1954, was an election year]. . . . And we understand the sensitivity of these men to the jeopardy in which they felt their party's candidates would be placed if the Democrats in Congress could point to no record of anti-Communist achievement. But none of these considerations, we are certain, weighs against the folly of lending even tactical support to the McCarran monstrosity. The hysterical will not credit the Democrats with its passage in any case; so the Senate liberals have given moral ground to no purpose whatever. . . . These are times that call for a bold defense of principle, not for the kind of politics that trips on its own cleverness.

FORTUNATELY there is some reason to believe that, in ways not at all intended, the Senate too has "outsmarted" itself. The immunity bill, for example, is subject to serious constitutional attack on at least four counts: (1) Read literally, the Constitution protects one against self-accusation, and four Supreme Court justices have said that the right of silence remains despite a grant of immunity. Test cases arising under the new act—which we assume the President will sign—may thus result in a decision that will not only invalidate the measure but clarify and perhaps broaden the scope of the right guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment. (2) Is compelling testimony *ever* necessary to the legislative process? One hundred and sixty-five years of legislative experience and an equally long record of Congressional inquiries would seem to prove the contrary. (3) Must not immunity extend to both state and federal prosecutions to be valid? The House, which incidentally shows more regard for the Constitution these days than the Senate, sought to provide an immunity as broad as this but the Senate disagreed. Even so, the House felt—and the statement is a commentary on the times—that "the constitutional question



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should not prevent the enactment of the recommended bill"! (4) Finally, there is the doubt, and a serious one it is, whether a judge is exercising a judicial function when he acts in aid of a Congressional committee—sitting as a sort of ex-officio chairman—and grants immunity to a witness. The power to pardon is vested in the President, and federal judges can only decide issues that fall within the "case and controversy" rule. Is this such an issue? Then, too, the new immunity bill will give rise to protracted litigation from which some good precedents may emerge. For example, each time a witness is brought before a federal judge important questions can be argued: Is the committee acting within its powers? Is it pursuing a proper line of questioning? And so forth.

The offensive "outlaw" measure must now go to the House, where, given the lateness of the hour, it may be bottled up for the time being. But wires and protests should go to every member without delay. And may we suggest that our readers study the record of the disgraceful Senate debate on this measure? Only Jonathan Swift could do justice to this extraordinary situation in which Congress, suspending one constitutional right after another, continues to assert that the Constitution must be protected against those who would overthrow it by "force and violence." If the irresponsible behavior of the Senate in this election year does not expose the fraudulent nature of the domestic "Communist menace," it is hard to see what kind of evidence would be necessary. Today, as in 1950, party leaders are playing cheap partisan politics with this hoax to a degree that endangers the Constitution itself. As we recall, the critics of Senator McCarthy propose to censure him, among other reasons, for the manner in which he has undermined respect for representative government. Having censured McCarthy, as we hope it will, let the Senate then censure itself for the disgraceful 85 to 0 vote by which it has attempted to edge us a little closer to the concept of the one-party state.

# MENDES-FRANCE

## Europe's "Last Reserve" . . . *by Alexander Werth*

*Paris*

I THINK I am right in saying that this is the only time since the apotheosis of De Gaulle at the time of the Liberation in August, 1944, that the people of France have felt they had at last at their head a man of immense personal and political value. Only too often during the Fourth Republic people have had the impression that the country was just muddling along, that their leaders were mediocrities, that vital problems, internal and international, remained unsolved, and that it made very little difference whether the Premier was called Bidault, Pleven, Queuille, Pinay, or Laniel. A fatalistic indifference to public affairs was evident in all circles. It was assumed that, whoever headed the "next" government, the war in Indo-China would go on, the unrest in North Africa would flare up or subside, the hemming and hawing over E. D. C. would persist, and there would be a little more or a little less aid from the United States. This state of affairs might have continued indefinitely but for two things—the disaster of Dienbienphu and the rapid deterioration of the situation in North Africa.

Since 1952 it has seemed as if the leaders of the M. R. P. were doing everything they could to prevent a peaceful settlement in either Indo-China or North Africa. Their mistakes—if not crimes—have, indeed, been so stupendous that one is not surprised to find some ultra-Mendèsistes calling for a sort of "war-crimes committee" to put the guilt where it belongs. Part of the press is now demanding that a dossier be published to show how Bidault, supported by Admiral Radford and—perhaps less emphatically—by Dulles, did his utmost to precipitate a third world war in Indo-China. And that is of course only one example of the fatal lack of vision of the various M. R. P. governments. When in December, 1951, Maurice Schuman, as No. 2 man at the Quai d'Orsay, drew up his famous note, together with the leaders of the North African lobby, in reply to the reasonable proposals of the Tunisian government, he knew, or should have known, that he was opening an era of bloodshed in Tunisia. And when in August, 1953, Bidault encouraged the Glaoui and the French settlers in Morocco to overthrow the Sultan, he should have known that he was scrapping any possibility of reaching a peaceful settlement there.

It is true that the responsibility for the war in Indo-China is rather more divided. The war began under the short-lived government of Léon Blum, and his Minister of Colonies, Marius Moutet, was one who refused to stop the fighting when that could easily have been done—and on terms infinitely more favorable than those Mendès-France managed to obtain at Geneva.

The new Premier's task is the unenviable one of repairing the errors—often ten years old—of his predecessors. The bulk of public opinion is behind him, but there is a question whether Parlia-

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ment will allow him to do what is necessary. Long before the war Charles Maurras formulated the famous distinction between *le pays légal* and *le pays réel,* suggesting that France really wanted a monarchy but that its institutions interfered with the fulfilment of its will. Whether or not the distinction was a true one in the France of the Third Republic, there is no doubt that the parliaments and ministries of the Fourth Republic have often gone against the will of the *pays réel*—otherwise the war in Indo-China would not have lasted eight years. Only when this will is very vocal, as it was when Mendès-France first took over, will Parliament hesitate to thwart it. Mendès-France represents *le pays réel.* His opponents can only wait for a decline in his present immense popularity. Whether the Bidaults and Plevens and Maurice Schumans are too discredited ever to regain power, time will show.

MENDES-FRANCE is of course no newcomer. In so far as the French public has been at all interested in the activities of the National Assembly—the decline in the number and circulation of political newspapers has been spectacular since 1946—it has regarded him as "the last reserve." When things got too desperate, it was felt, Mendès-France might be called on. The only political excitement noticeable in France in the past eighteen months was generated during the interminable Cabinet crisis in June, 1953, when Mendès failed, by a handful of votes, to be elected Premier. People realize today what appalling disasters could have been averted by his election: the war in Indo-China would in all probability have been ended under much more favorable conditions, and the perhaps irreparable damage done in North Africa have been avoided.

In his handling of Dulles, Mendès has shown himself a first-class diplomat. People here were much amused when he reminded Dulles in Paris that the American insistence on linking Indo-China with Germany was wholly in line with the intolerable Soviet proposals for a "planetary settlement."

Mendès is respected in France as the man "who has always been right." He was right when he resigned as De Gaulle's Minister of Public Economy because the General, wholly unacquainted

Courtesy London *New Statesman and Nation*

*Mendès-France*

with financial problems, rejected his Crippsian proposals for giving France a firm currency in favor of Pleven's typically French easygoing measures for reestablishing "confidence"—the confidence of the war profiteers and blackmarketeers. He was right when he criticized the successive M. R. P. governments for allowing French economy to stagnate, and when he emphasized that without a heavy outlay for capital investments and the return of the army cadres from Indo-China, France would be unable to pull its weight in Europe in either the economic or the military sphere. He was right, time and again, in insisting that the alternative to internal autonomy for Tunisia and an amicable agreement with Morocco would be chaos in North Africa. He said this in his speeches; he said it even more forcibly in his preface to M. Mitterrand's book, published last year, in which he urged that France seek to profit from the economic resources of North Africa by embarking, in agreement with the Moroccans and Tunisians, on a vast program of capital investment designed to "turn North Africa into another California."

Though he has been rightly described as a representative of "the more intelligent part of the French bourgeoisie," his own economic policy has always been "English" rather than "French," and he is unwilling to compromise with France's time-honored easy habits. So he is up against many difficulties. He has no parliamentary majority that would support him through thick and thin; even in his own Radical Socialist Party —which is trying to cash in just now on his popularity—he has more enemies than friends: Martinaud-Déplat, "France's little McCarthy," and René Mayer, the head of the pro-E. D. C. faction, are busy digging his grave. The economic proposals he has made so far are the result of an uneasy compromise between him and Edgar Faure and lack the grand sweep of his opposition speeches. The capital-investment program is as yet negligible, and the proposal that 240,000 houses be built yearly was apparently dropped at the last Cabinet meeting and replaced by some utterly vague formula.

In the matter of E. D. C., Mendès will try to mark time, knowing that Adenauer's prestige is now suddenly declining—the Brüning meetings, the Hamburg and Bremerhaven strikes, and the John episode being so many straws in the wind. His spectacular trip to Tunis has already aroused the fury of the North African lobby and its numerous, more or less subsidized, supporters in Parliament and the press. As for Morocco, where the situation is much graver than in Tunisia, Mendès is hampered in seeking a solution by the absence of a proper representative authority, such as the Bey of Tunis, with whom to negotiate—unless the old Sultan is brought back in accordance with the thousands of petitions coming from the Moroccan people. Moreover, the nationalist movement in Morocco, as distinct from that in Tunis, has become an anarchic, zenophobe mass movement no longer based on middle-class aspirations.

There is not much time to lose. Both Tunis and Morocco, and eventually Algeria, must be given reforms, since the alternative to reforms may well be chaos. As the *Monde* emphasized, Britain's departure from Egypt appeared to Mendès like the writing on the wall: if France was to keep North Africa it must act promptly, before its suzerainty was swept away in the flood of militant pan-Arab nationalism. But there is grave danger that Mendès may be sabotaged by those who think a policy of force is the only one the Arabs understand—a policy like that which produced such brilliant results in Indo-China! Whether or not Mendès is allowed to carry on will be the test of France's political wisdom and of its instinct for self-preservation.



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# THE DECISION-MAKERS

## Can You Name Them? . . *by Floyd Hunter*

WHO are the men of power in national affairs? What men give our nation its political direction? What men are behind those out front? Is there any pattern in the development of national policy? It would be easy to pick politicians whose names are continually before the public and say that they make policy. Or one might maintain that a few political bosses in league with powerful "interests" pull the strings. Or one might naively assume that policy formulation follows the lines laid down in the standard eighth-grade civics books. The best thing to do is probably to take a fresh look at the whole process and see what turns up.

After making several studies of the power structure in communities, I have become convinced that the bases of power at the national level may be profitably examined in the light of sociological research. Many leaders I interviewed in community studies had national connections, and often these connections were more important as sources of power than purely local affiliations. The question consequently arose, "What is the relationship between the leading figures in one city and those in another?" Beginning a study of this question, I have visited more than fifty large cities in the United States during the past two years and interviewed the men who are known as national leaders. There appears to be a basic social relationship among the top policy-makers in at least the larger cities thus far visited. And by this relationship I mean more than simply membership in the same political party.

In order to get at the problem at all, I had to throw off the temptation to do a job of muckraking. An earlier generation of sociologists thought of the problem of power in terms of direct influence, pay-offs, the bribing of legislatures and councilmen, and so on. Local studies show us that such practices still prevail, but it must also be recognized that policy development depends on many other factors. It is a social process that goes beyond the familiar log-rolling and pressure tactics of the recognized lobbies. Power manipulation is apparently considerably more sophisticated than it used to be.

I have based my study of national policy-making on certain hypotheses:

1. The nation can be thought of as a community.

2. In the nation as in the community there is a power structure inside and outside of government—not synonymous with government or any other formal organization—influencing policy development. The national power structure is not a single pyramid of influence and authority but rather a kind of informal executive committee of the many major influence groups. It represents different geographic sections, different segments of the economy, and different organized groups. While disagreements may arise on specific issues, the common aspirations of the larger corporate interests bring about a working unity.

3. Principal cities, containing concentrations of major industries, are anchor points of power and furnish a large proportion of the active personnel. The national power structure is held together, city by city, mainly by a network of informal association.

4. Because of its unique authority, government is of special concern to the rest of the power structure, which acts through government and upon government in relation to specific policies.

5. Being diffuse and informal in character, a large portion of the total power structure is not seen in operation.

The social researcher who can lay aside his prejudices, stop calling power bad *per se,* and persuade someone to give him a modest travel allowance can gather a good many facts in support of the hypotheses outlined above.

It cannot be disputed that in our major cities, as well as in our smaller communities, men can be identified who operate in a super-political relationship to elected officials, organization executives, institutional groupings, and the unorganized body politic. The existence of a hierarchical relationship between top-drawer leaders and those below them in the power scale and the fact that these men do not necessarily function as a corrupt political "machine" have been revealed in the course of inquiries. That there can be statistical confirmation and correlation of their views in respect to the power of others scores a point for scientific method.

The membership lists of the boards of the National Industrial Conference, the Committee for Economic Development, and the Advisory Committee for the Department of Commerce provide good starting points for anyone interested in a run-down of national leadership. These boards are highly selective in recruiting members and represent a stable cross-section of top business leadership. They are made up of persons who have access to each other and who have channels to persons in other power networks of civic, professional, political, and religious leaders.

I AM not contending that there exists a single group of wirepullers at the national level who have a hand in every policy decision that finds its way to a state capitol or to Washington for legislative and administrative implementation. But there is undoubtedly a great volume of informal discussion by men "in the know" even before trial balloons are sent aloft by national associations, lobbies, and front-rank politicians to feel out the temper of the body politic. And there are most certainly networks of wirepullers, with definable objectives and characteristics.

Certain policies brew for a long time before they jell. Among the policies that have already jelled for most leadership

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groups regardless of their political affiliations are the reduction of taxes, particularly corporate taxes, the restriction of governmental activities, particularly in the field of social security, and the private exploitation of national resources. Political heat, to continue the analogy, may unjell some policy decisions—for example, with respect to Taft-Hartley. An unjelled policy, like the sale of publicly generated electric power to private corporations, brings into play very definite relationships, particularly within the interest group involved. The processes of utilizing national trade associations to exert financial and moral pressure on politicians has been documented over the years, and the power of lobbies has often been stressed —perhaps overstressed. I would not underestimate the power of the formally organized groups, but I would emphasize the importance of a closer look at some of the informal aspects of policy development.

Various men prominent in national affairs—they may be connected with a New York banking house or be managers of large industrial or commercial firms—shuttle back and forth across the country picking up information and distributing opinions as they go. In their travels they are entertained by leaders in the communities they touch. Some maintain New York and Washington residences where they can entertain visitors. Everywhere clubs are open to those who can claim guest privileges in them by purchase or friendship. In this way "big" visitors meet the "big" local people, and the "little fellows" are often brought in to meet those of stature. The recreation areas and race tracks also provide meeting places for persons vitally interested in testing current trends. "Whom do you know?" is a key political question, and policy-makers up and down the scale make it their business to know a lot of people, and to know the right ones for particular political purposes.

National and community leaders are informally organized for a vast array of purposes. Many of the committees formed for the promotion of educational, religious, or civic enterprises are clearly devoted to their causes. But when eminent men get together on such a committee, it develops "latent functions" which may affect national policy. Men engaged in educational committee work, I am told, are prone to talk about matters of policy at a dinner held to raise money for education. This is only "natural," but it plays a part in the scheme of power relations. How much of this type of informal clearance of ideas on policy goes on, and how important it may be, are questions around which social scientists are beginning to build research projects.

THE customary assumption that certain national associations and their lobbies at Washington are mighty strongholds of power may have to be modified. Some national leaders, not a majority, look upon the associations and their secretaries with hostility or contempt. The secretaries are seen as "paid employees," who often go off on tangents. Those who guide the policies of these associations are not always on the boards of directors of the member firms.

National leaders tell me they have a wide acquaintanceship among other leaders. Some men are recognized as top policy makers, others as second- and third-rate figures amenable to reason through informal discussions with the higher-ups, still others as front men for specific interests. The acquaintanceship is not confined to persons who serve on the same corporate boards, or who belong to the same political party, or who happen to have similar amounts of money in the bank. Friendships, committee work, club and recreation associations, customer relations, and financial problems all tend to intertwine into definable action patterns. It is too simple to say policy is made at the curbstone of Wall Street or on the doorsills of the bosses, or by the "sixty families," or by the struggle between the liberals and the reactionaries in Congress. Policy in any field is developed by a broad range of activities, not all of which are sinister or contrary to the public interest.

Policy development is a prime social function that defies confinement within formally organized political or associational groupings. Many of the associations utilize the technique of bringing in

## Who Are the Policy-Makers?

Three hundred national and community leaders interviewed by Floyd Hunter chose twenty of the following fifty persons as the principal behind-the-scenes manipulators of national policy in the United States. Which twenty do you think were chosen? Turn to page 159 for the answer.

1. Stephen D. Bechtel
2. Jacob Blaustein
3. Randolph W. Burgess
4. Norman Chandler
5. Lucius D. Clay
6. E. H. Crump
7. Harlow H. Curtice
8. Donald K. David
9. Charles H. Diefendorf
10. Benjamin F. Fairless
11. Adrien J. Falk
12. R. G. Follis
13. Henry Ford II
14. Y. Frank Freeman
15. Henry F. Grady
16. Crawford H. Greenewalt
17. Merrill Griswold
18. Fred Gurley
19. Lewis G. Harriman
20. W. L. Hemingway
21. Paul G. Hoffman
22. K. T. Keller
23. Lawrence A. Kimpton
24. J. L. Latimer
25. Hughston M. McBain
26. John J. McCloy
27. Mrs. Eugene Meyer
28. R. L. Minckler
29. Edward L. Ryerson
30. Gideon D. Seymour
31. Henry Knox Sherrill
32. Herman Steinkraus
33. Mervyn H. Sterne
34. Joseph Stetler
35. Irvin Stewart
36. John Stewart
37. W. Paul Stillman
38. Roger W. Straus
39. Jay Taylor
40. Sidney J. Weinberg
41. Ernest T. Weir
42. Carl Wente
43. John Hay Whitney
44. Arthur V. Wiebel
45. Clyde Williams
46. Charles Edward Wilson
47. R. W. Woodruff
48. Benjamin E. Youngdahl
49. James W. Young
50. J. D. Zellerbach



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the "little fellow"—the corner druggist, the hardware dealer, or the small-town banker—to promote their interests before government officials or committees. The technique is effective when these individuals are backed by the big fellows; most politicians know who is behind the carefully coached witness on a particular matter. Any community organizer, community-chest director, or real-estate-board executive uses similar methods. The choice of a person to present a case before any authoritative body is usually well thought out in advance. The deliberations are not published in the newspapers; the final choice may be. Behind the whole process, of course, are innumerable "clearances."

Open politics, the selection of candidates for office, the determination of political fund-raising goals, the selection of issues for campaign purposes are amenable to informal direction. "Who can be tapped for specific tasks connected with these activities?" is a vital question, and the right answer sweeps political parties into power.

For effectively ordering the relations of men taking part in policy development a power structure related to government and acting both within and outside government is necessary. The organization must be flexible in the initial stages of policy determination, and the policies must be in line with the stable interests of the nation. Social scientists are convinced that an examination of the relations of men outside the formally organized party systems and formal government can turn up data that will throw considerable light on the operations of formal politics.

# DIEHARDS ARE DYING OUT

## In the Southwest . . *by William G. Carleton*

*Los Angeles*

NOWHERE in the United States are the fascist-tinged movements more numerous and noisy than in the Southwest, and yet to date they consist only of peripheral and splinter groups which have been unable to combine into a major political force. Right now they seem to be declining in popular appeal and are therefore less of a threat than they were a year ago.

Luncheon-club speakers and pulpiteers who parrot the Joseph Kamp–Allen A. Zoll–Edward A. Rumely–Bonner Fellers–Walter Steele–Gerald L. K. Smith kind of super-patriotic propaganda and right-wing bombast get a larger play in the Southwest than elsewhere. Every community in the area has its "little Joe McCarthys." Sometimes these men are solid citizens; more often they are gabby adventurers, ambitious radio announcers, notoriety-seeking preachers. Fred Spangler, who works out of Houston, seems to make a good living by peddling super-patriotism and right-wing extremism along the civic-club circuits. The Los Angeles divine, the Reverend James Fifield, has acquired a reputation by preaching ultra-Americanism on radio and television. Various Texas oil millionaires, the Facts Forum radio program, the Minute Women of America, and the disturbed ladies of Pro-America have engaged in widely reported rightist activities. Throughout the area new rightist "parties" are mushrooming—the Congress of Freedom, the States Rights Party, the Constitution Party, the Nationalists, the Christian Nationalists. However, these groups show no signs of combining into a major fascist movement.

Many Southern advocates of laissez faire capitalism and states' rights sharply differentiate themselves from McCarthyism, super-patriotism, and bigotry. For instance, in Louisiana, Frank B. Ellis, Democratic national committeeman, is a believer in extreme states' rights and classical capitalism, but in 1952 he supported Adlai Stevenson. On the other hand, John U. Barr of the Southern States Industrial Council and Leander Perez, although not particularly attracted to McCarthyism, want to break with the "radicalism" of the Democratic Party. Barr is a leading spirit in the Congress of Freedom, and Perez has called a conference at Jackson, Mississippi, for the organization of a states'-rights party. Colonel Buford Balter, a leading New Orleans business man, who subscribes to the economic views of Ellis, Barr, and Perez, is apparently attracted to McCarthy and super-patriotic movements. This split in the rightist forces of Louisiana is fairly typical of the rest of the area.

It is the opinion in Texas that national newspapers and periodicals have been exaggerating the political influence of certain Texas oil millionaires. As one exasperated newspaper reporter put it, "Why all this sudden bother about the political wallop of Cullen and Hunt and Seth Richardson and Glenn McCarthy? None of them knows much about politics or will follow any political line for long. Besides, the oil millionaires divide among themselves and neutralize one another. Who do you suppose is the financial angel for the so-called liberal side of Texas politics, the fellow who right now is financing the Ralph Yarborough campaign against Governor Shivers? It is none other than J. R. Parten, rich Houston oil man."

Two years ago when Cullen and Glenn McCarthy brought General MacArthur to Texas, they expected to fill Houston's Rice Stadium, which seats 70,000. Only about 5,000 people turned out. The General's reception in Dallas was equally disappointing to his followers. This spring when Senator McCarthy was the chief speaker on San Jacinto Day, the crowd fell far below expectations.

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Increasingly, Texans regard the brash heckling of speakers by the Minute Women of America as a public nuisance. In Dallas, where the Minute Women were once strongest, their interruptions are now abruptly squelched by those who preside at meetings. In Houston radio announcer Joe Worthy, who took the side of the Minute Women, is no longer on the air, oil man Cullen has dissociated himself from them, and Ralph S. O'Leary's courageous articles in the Houston *Post* exposing their officious meddling in the public schools have been widely applauded,. In Los Angeles the success of Pro-America, a kindred organization of women patrioteers, is more difficult to appraise because its members, drawn more largely from the upper middle class, avoid public appearances and spread their propaganda in the form of sly gossip in telephone and personal conversations. Facts Forum programs have declined in prestige and popularity.

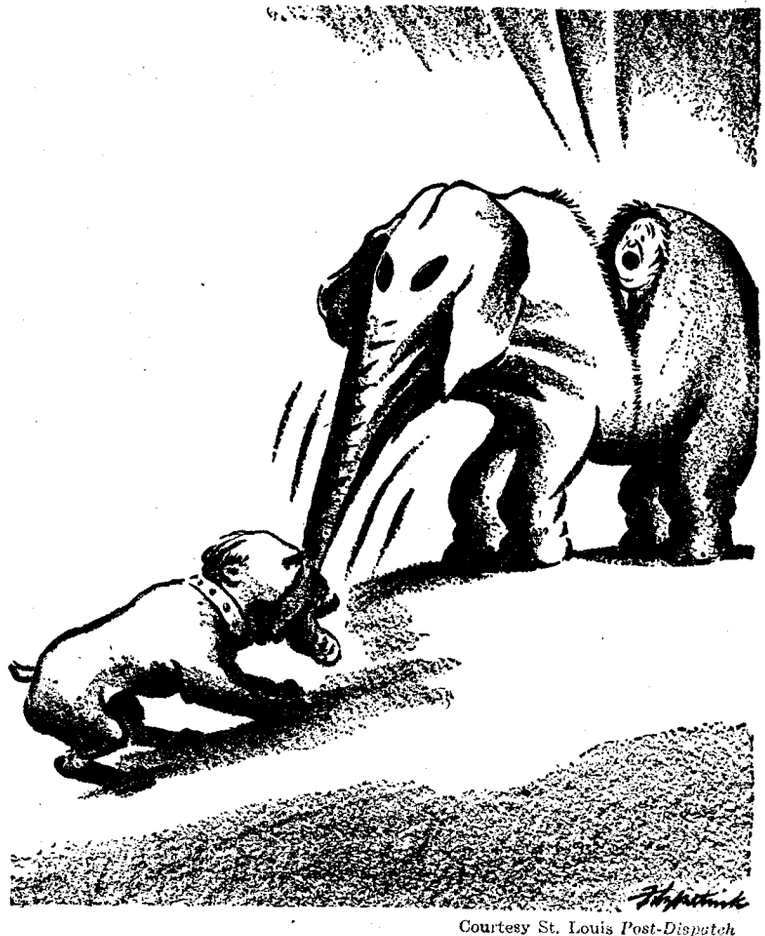
Indicative of public sentiment in the Dallas area is the fact that John O. Beaty, professor of English at Southern Methodist University, received so little support in his conflict with the university administration over a so-called Communist issue. Beaty, author of "Iron Curtain Over America"—a book that has delighted the anti-Semites—charged that university publications, the university bookstore, the university library, and finally the administration itself were infiltrated by Communist and atheistic ideas. The administrative board of the university sustained the officers on all counts, and Beaty left Texas.

THE election returns from the Southwest also show that McCarthyism has lost ground. Jack B. Tenney, the "little McCarthy" of the California senate, was recently defeated for reelection in his Los Angeles district. Senator Robert S. Kerr of Oklahoma, one of the few men in public life who spoke out at the time in favor of Truman's dismissal of General MacArthur, was renominated in the face of strong opposition which used Kerr's anti-MacArthur stand as an argument against him. Senator John L. McClellan was renominated in Arkansas in part because of his stand against McCarthyism.

Catholics of the Southwest, like Catholics elsewhere, are split on the McCarthy issue. *Catholic Action of the South,* published in New Orleans, is pro-McCarthy, but most Catholic laymen who have spoken out on the Senator are against him. The Archbishop of New Orleans and the Archbishop of San Antonio have announced they will end segregation in the parochial schools in their jurisdiction, although private schools are not affected by the Supreme Court's anti-segregation decision. The Archbishop of New Orleans has taken a vigorous stand against Louisiana's anti-labor "right to work" bill, as have Father Louis Toomey and Dr. Raymond Witte, both of Loyola University. While in the North many Protestants deplore Catholic conservatism, in Louisiana and Texas many Protestants deplore Catholic liberalism. (It has been remarked that the Americans will escape fascism, if for no other reason, because of the very diversity of their prejudices.)

During the past year the role of neo-fascist elements and even of orthodox right-wing conservatives in Texas has been widely discussed. The truth is that Texas has the healthiest politics of all the Southern states. The very aggressiveness of the conservative elements has sharpened the political issues and called forth bold counter-action by the liberal elements. In no other Southern state are labor unions and Negroes so discerning, active, and effective in politics as they are in Texas. Texas comes nearer to having a two-party system within the Democratic Party than any other Southern state. The lines are tightly drawn between states-rights' conservatives and loyalist national Democrats. In every Texas community the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. are active in organization politics—in the fights for precinct committeemen, county chairmen, delegates to party conventions. The Negroes, too, are well organized, united, and aggressive. During the Shivers-Yarborough contest almost every Negro business place had a Yarborough placard.

The many fascist-fringe organizations of the Southwest are not likely to combine into a major political force unless there should be war with Red China or Russia. Geneva was portrayed by almost the entire press of the area as "appeasement" and "another Munich," but the mass of the people remained apathetic.



Courtesy St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

*"Hey, Joe, this ain't a donkey."*



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The last thing they want is another shooting war—big or little—in Asia. Senator Knowland's suggestion that the United States withdraw from the United Nations if Red China were admitted met a cool reception.

Some questioning of the stereotyped American view of international affairs is even appearing in the press. The San Francisco *Chronicle* has run articles suggesting that Russia does not dominate Red China. In a recent editorial the Houston *Post* questioned whether in the long run a common ideology was enough to hold nations together. Most significant, the old China traders in the San Francisco area are beginning to stir. Before the Communist revolution in China about one-half of the trade of the port of San Francisco was with China. Involved in it were shipping companies, banks, insurance companies, and countless business firms. Before the Korean war trade and business associations in California passed resolutions favoring recognition of the Communist regime. The Korean war reversed all this, but the current trend in the world toward peaceful coexistence is having its effect, and sentiment is reviving for resumption of trade relations with China.

A very discerning California politician said to me: "We in California have never thought that Senator Bill Knowland was smart. We regarded his appointment to the Senate as Warren's way of paying off an old debt to the Knowland family. The China Lobby went after Knowland's support in order to neutralize powerful commercial interests in San Francisco. Bill fell for the whole thing and has led the extremists. By 1956, if present world trends continue, he may be out on a limb, especially in his own bailiwick of San Francisco."

# GERMAN JUNGLE

## The Otto John Story . . *by Carolus*

*Berlin*

FOR three days that rugged island in the sea of Soviet occupation which is West Berlin had again the air of being the capital of Germany. For it was in Berlin—not in Bonn, as Dr. Adenauer had wished—that the West German National Assembly met on July 19 to extend the mandate of the federal President, Theodore Heuss, for another five years.

It was characteristic of this distinguished man, a statesman in the classic German tradition, that his first official act after his reelection was to pay homage to the memory of the five thousand victims of the anti-Hitler coup of July 20, 1944. Not since the war have any truer or finer words been spoken to the German people. The Americans might do worse than use some of the millions of dollars which they spend—and largely waste—on propaganda in West Germany to put a copy of Dr. Heuss's speech into the hands of every German.

The President's purpose was to put a stop to the campaign of slander which the former Nazis were carrying on against the men who had taken part in the attack on Hitler's life. If he failed, if in fact the effect was the opposite of what he intended, it was because of Dr. John.

The memorial meeting was held at one of the places in the city where the plotters had been executed. A man stood not far from President Heuss, in the midst of the mothers, widows, and children of the murdered men, and sobbed uncontrollably. It was Dr. Otto John, mourning for his brother, whom the Nazi butchers ten years ago had hanged by his throat from a meathook.

Now head of the West German counter-intelligence, Dr. John had held a similar post in Hitler's Air Ministry and thus been able to render good service to the conspirators. When he realized that the coup had failed, he escaped by plane to Lisbon. From there he made his way to England, where he joined the British propaganda services. After the war he helped the British prosecutor at the Nürnberg trials. He returned to West Germany in 1948. Two years later the Adenauer government, on the recommendation of the British occupation authorities, made him head of an "Office for the Protection of the Constitution." On July 20, 1954, he was once more a fugitive. This time he did not need a plane; a car took him the short distance to East Berlin.

The Adenauer government was shaken to its foundations. What could it do but declare that "the man with a thousand secrets," as his friend Sefton Delmer of the London *Daily Express* dubbed him, had been kidnapped by the Russians? The kidnapping theory, however, met with general skepticism even before it was demolished by Dr. John himself.

No cheap thriller contains more fake clues, more tangled threads, more dirty innuendoes than the story of Dr. John's defection. A high government official has been pictured as an ignorant, lying degenerate, spending more time in bars than in his office. And the neo-Nazi campaign against the Germans who fled from the Third Reich or joined the Resistance at home has burst into flame.

IN HIS first radio talk from the east zone Dr. John said he left West Germany because of the neo-Nazi peril and because so many former Nazis had infiltrated the government. If he had said this in Bonn and begun to fight there against the Nazis in the government he could have combated the danger more effectively. But when he decided to flee to the east zone, his days as West Germany's security chief were already numbered. His dismissal was expected at any time. It would not have been due, how-

*CAROLUS is the pseudonym of a prominent Social Democrat in West Germany who is a contributing editor of* The Nation.



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ever, to the machinations of the Nazis in the Adenauer government. Dr. John was really the victim of the conflicting policies of the British and American occupation authorities. His wholly justified complaints over the East Berlin radio* about the growing influence of Nazi leaders and Nazi generals are a powerful criticism of American policy in West Germany, which seems to be based on the principle that "the bigger Nazi a man is, the better anti-Communist and anti-Russian."

THE counter-intelligence department formerly headed by Dr. John is located at Cologne. There is no doubt that it has worked closely with British military circles. Competing with it for authority is the Security Service of General von Gehlen, maintained by the American occupation authorities at Munich. The John office is run by civilians; von Gehlen's is largely staffed by former Wehrmacht and S. S. officers. Von Gehlen himself headed the Nazi security services in German-occupied Eastern Europe. There was a bitter personal feud between John and Gehlen, and with Adenauer identifying himself more and more closely with Washington's rearmament policy, Gehlen's influence at Bonn increased. The pro-British John was not once received by Adenauer while he was in office; Gehlen, Washington's man, had constant access to the Chancellor. John represented the views of the British Foreign Office, Gehlen those of Adenauer and Dulles. It is hardly surprising that John lost.

These conflicting attitudes were behind various recent incidents. Bonn opened its so-called "Operation Volcano" a few days before Dr. Adenauer's American trip. Some forty industrialists, business men, managing directors, and engineers were arrested in the middle of the night and accused of conspiring to aid Russia. Sensational reports were put out by press and radio, and the Chancellor left for Washington looking like St. George triumphant over the Red Dragon. All but three of the men arrested have now been freed. The much-trumpeted treason trial is still to be held. Instead, the government and its security services were sharply criticized in Parliament—even by members of the government coalition—for unjustified arrests of innocent people. The government had to agree to compensate the victims for the considerable damage to their honor and reputation and publicly to proclaim their innocence. Their crime was that they had engaged in perfectly legal commercial transactions with the East. The aim of "Operation Volcano" was to frighten business men away from such transactions.

The "Naumann affair," in the spring of 1953, was the work of Dr. John's security service. On the order of the British occupation authorities, a neo-Nazi organization was raided and its leaders arrested. This dangerous gang was headed by Goebbels's Under Secretary of State, Dr. Naumann. All the other leaders were former high-ranking Nazis. The organization had plenty of money and gave orders to thousands of Nazis. Among its papers were plans for undermining the democratic parties and seizing power in the best Nazi tradition.

It was a genuine Nazi conspiracy. Foreign Secretary Eden testified to this in the House of Commons when justifying the measures taken by the British authorities. Some of the plotters escaped to the American zone and have never been arrested. The others were finally freed without a trial and the whole affair was hushed up. Why? The answer lies perhaps in the papers of that "Youth Organization" which the Hesse state police ran to earth near Frankfurt three years ago. These papers, besides giving directions for practice maneuvers, telling where the most modern weapons were stored, and listing hundreds of leading democrats and Social Democrats who were to be liquidated, revealed that the organization was financed by the American occupation authorities. Not one of the conspirators was arrested. Their leader was a notorious crook who was very probably in the pay of Russia —which neatly rounds out the picture of the German political jungle.

No less than forty-two secret organizations in West Germany and West Berlin are combating the Communist peril. Thousands of people make a good living from the profession of anti-Communist. Each of the occupation powers has its agents, informers, and stool pigeons who penetrate into the smallest village and the least important bureau. The West German government

*Otto John*

also takes a hand in the game, and any anti-Adenauer politician is suspected and watched. And that is not all in the spying line. The organizations of Polish, Czech, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Slovakian, Rumanian, and even Ukrainian immigrants in West Germany hate and spy on one another. Each is working against the others and for its own particular purposes. The only people who benefit are the Russians, who eventually learn the secrets of all.

The situation is well described in a report which Zachariah Schuster, representing the American Jewish Committee, recently gave to the press in Bonn. Germany is revealed as a vast sewer into which have seeped all the reactionary groups of East Europe, from the Hungarian "Arrow Cross" to the notorious Russian "Rondd." Some of them are even organized in military units, under the eyes of the American authorities. They all attack democracy and foster anti-Semitism among the Germans. It is anybody's guess how many representatives of these reactionary groups are working for the Gehlen office.

Dr. John, a weak man unequal to his task, has given it up and run away to the Russians. When Germany is finally remilitarized, General von Gehlen will be able to create a centralized security service, bringing together all the groups now functioning separately. England has had little joy from its protégé, Dr. John. Only time will tell whether America will fare better with von Gehlen.

*This article was written before Dr. John's press conference in East Berlin on August 11.



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# BOOKS

## Africa: Hope and Danger

*TELL FREEDOM: MEMORIES OF AFRICA.* By Peter Abrahams. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

*THROUGH MALAN'S AFRICA.* By Robert St. John. Doubleday and Company. $3.95.

*REPORT ON AFRICA.* By Oden Meeker. Charles Scribner's Sons. $5.

### By Melville J. Herskovits

PETER ABRAHAMS' book, the story of his life until he left Africa to go to England, is a beautifully written, moving, revealing story. It adds an essential dimension to the African picture, for the African of color, either in the Union of South Africa or in the rest of the continent, rarely speaks with such forthrightness and literary talent. Aside from the emotional experience books of this kind can yield, their first-hand testimony about the under side of the interracial situation gives them great sociological and psychological importance.

Abrahams is one of those the Union calls "colored," a person of racially mixed blood. His father was an Ethiopian who married the widow of a Cape Malay, herself of mixed ancestry, and worked in the mines of the Rand. The boy's early years were happy enough, but when his father died the family was broken, and he was sent to live with a colored couple, Aunt Liza and Uncle Sam, in the village of Elsburg.

The grinding poverty of this worker on a white farm and his washerwoman wife allowed them little opportunity to show the affection they undoubtedly felt for the small boy. Peter had to bear his share of the burden, but there were compensations: he learned the beauties of the veld, and he made friends with a Zulu boy his own age who taught him that Africans as well as whites can have a sense of dignity and worth. Other lessons were bitter—his encounter with "Boer dogs," trained to attack non-Europeans, the insistence that he address all whites as *baas,* the brutal thrashing Uncle Sam was compelled to give him by the father of a boy Peter had fought for calling his own dead father a "black baboon."

We follow Peter through his return to Johannesburg, his adventures as a member of a youthful gang of petty thieves, his job at the tinsmithy, where he was befriended by a white girl who gave him the glimpse of great literature that inspired him to go to school. We learn of his struggle to get an education, of the impact of American Negro writing on his thinking, of his growing recognition as a poet, his discovery of Marxism, and his disillusionment with left-wing factionalism despite the appeal of its anti-racism.

"For Europeans Only," the ever-present warning to any man of color in the Union, was inescapable there, and he had to leave. "In my contacts with them the Europeans had made it clear that they were the overlords, that the earth and all its wealth belonged to them. . . . And I had submitted to their superior strength. But submission can be a subtle thing. A man can submit today in order to resist tomorrow. My submission was such. . . . I had been lucky in some of the whites I had met. . . . But I had reached a point where the gestures of even my friends among the whites were suspect. . . . I needed, not friends, not gestures, but my manhood." The tragedy of South Africa has rarely been better expressed.

IN "Through Malan's Africa" we get the situation in the Union as seen by a newspaperman and traveler. The author's position is clear. He does not like the party in power and feels it has heightened, though not caused, the tensions that plague the country. His one-sentence-to-a-paragraph style gives a tempo to his discussion that fits the scene he describes. Each racial group in the Union is treated in turn, with emphasis on the non-Europeans—nine chapters for the Cape coloreds, eighteen for the Africans, four for the Indians, and one for the Malays, as against two for the Afrikaners and five for "other whites." This is not too disproportionate in terms of population ratios, but in view of the importance of Malan and his following in the present situation, one wonders if more might not profitably have been said of them.

TWO chapters of "Report on Africa," on the Gold Coast and on Liberia, originally appeared in the *New Yorker.* The book is written in typical Newyorkerese —bright, comprehensive, sometimes superficial, sometimes showing flashes of insight. Its author, we are told, is an amateur zoologist, and certainly no other recent popular book on Africa describes the flora and fauna so accurately, even to giving the scientific Latin names.

After spending the better part of 1952 in Africa, Mr. Meeker topped off his travels by reading sourcebooks and contemporary documents, including the newspapers. This aided him to provide the historical background for his observations and to bring them up to date. He was in the Gold Coast when Kwame Nkrumah was named Prime Minister, in South Africa when the non-resistance campaign was in full swing, in Kenya when the Mau-Mau "emergency" was declared. He made the most of his opportunities. His interview with Jomo Kenyatta, which must have been one of the last the Kikuyu leader gave before his arrest, is of considerable historical interest.

As always in a book of this sort, there are details that need correction. Use of the term "ju-ju men" and translating a Dahomean cult-house as "convent," to name but two, are regrettable. But these errors are of little consequence when compared with the author's realistic approach to the role of the native in present-day Africa and the respect he shows for the achievements, past and potential, of African culture. Commenting on the fact that "some of the feudal-minded among the white settlers . . . were forever using their historical primitiveness as a club with which to beat back further advances by the Africans," he observes, "there is no empirical evidence that an East African can't learn from scratch just as fast as any other sort of man."

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*MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS, professor of anthropology and director of the Program of African Studies of Northwestern University, spent most of last year in Africa south of the Sahara.*



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The Belgians themselves, unofficially, would undoubtedly enjoy his felicitous designation of their colonial policy as an Auntie-Knows-Best one. One paragraph on this policy presents the basic problem as concisely and clearly as anything that has been written on the subject. Only its concluding lines can be quoted here: The Belgians "had never made the Africans any promises about their future, so they had left no trail of broken promises. But one felt there was something missing. Had the company managers underestimated the power of nationalism? What if the Africans became tired of expressing themselves in terms of buying vacuum cleaners and clip-on bow ties, and developed a terrible thirst for politics and higher education as they have in West and East and South Africa?" Every Belgian colonial would recognize the cogency of these questions; in the Congo one hears them, variously phrased, repeated endlessly.

Like most general books, this one gives no more than a passing glance to Portuguese territories; what is surprising is that French Africa receives so little attention. Dakar and Dahomey in French West Africa and Brazzaville in French Equatorial Africa are described, and that is all. But one can hardly complain with Ethiopia and the Sudan thrown in for good measure. In a perceptive chapter on South Africa Meeker comments on "the terrible weight of bad conscience, of fear and frustration one accumulates in the Union."

It is a good book and will help correct the unrealistic view of Africa that prevails in this country.

# Leaping into the Air

*A CHILD OF THE CENTURY.* By Ben Hecht. Simon and Schuster. $5.

## By Ira Wolfert

THE fact that Ben Hecht's autobiography is whopping and gorgeous has been broadcast widely. What else could have been expected? He is the author of "Count Bruga" and at least sixty of the slickest, juiciest movies anyone has seen and co-author of "The Front Page" and "Twentieth Century" and of the state of Israel.

The present reviewer is a newspaperman himself and has never met one of that ilk who would not give his right arm down to and including his typewriter finger to write like Ben Hecht. When Westbrook Pegler is in the mood he can make the language do him the same wonderful favors, and that's true, too, of Walter Winchell and Bob Casey and Jimmy Cannon and was true of Heywood Broun and Damon Runyon. But they're delicate boys. The subject has to be to their liking or it wrestles them to a fall. A tale of a city budget would have Walter Winchell writing with his thumbs, and when it's about love or human goodness Pegler writes as an abashed barefoot boy drawing lines in the dust with his toe, and ends up taking a punch at the fellow who embarrassed him silly by warming his heart. But the subject makes no difference to Ben Hecht. Love or money, heroism or skulduggery, schmalz or wisdom, it's all warm and breathing to him and he makes it jump up into the air to kiss you or bite you. The Newspaper Guild has never gone on record to that effect, and when the darn business offered him a job it wouldn't go higher than $75 a week; but it is a fact that Hecht has made more tears fall and more groans of admiration rise from more of those lovers of sheer, pure prose who earn their livings as newspapermen than anybody else who ever lived.

What does Hecht's sheer, pure prose say? Who cares? I suppose some do. There are people who wear a gray overcoat on their hearts and insist that words be mere platters conveying solid fare on which to grow instead of iridescent bubbles with which to have fun. For them Hecht has an answer.

Somewhere in his book he writes that trying to find out about the world from following it in the newspapers is like trying to tell time by following the second hand on a clock. Hecht has written about all the worlds through which he has moved thus far in his sixty boisterous years—the Jewish immigrant days at the turn of the century; the Chicago newspaper and literary days that, through Hecht more than any other individual, have become as much a part of our folk opera as cowboys and cattle rustlers; the Germany of World War I, where the seeds of World War II and possibly III were visible; the New York theater world of the twenties, with the curious omission of any but the most passing reference to his own achievements in it; the Florida land boom of the same era; the golden age of Hollywood; the violent years of the birth of Israel. But Hecht, however else he happened to be making his fame and fortune, was always a newspaperman, and reading about his times in this book is like reading the second hand on the clock.

But when it comes to conveying a picture of himself—and, after all, what else would you read autobiography for?—the second hand stands still and the whole clock is there, in fact does not seem to have moved at all from the day Hecht began telling time by it.

HECHT is a not unfamiliar phenomenon among men of talent in America—a Casanova, not of mere woman, but of life itself. Life has only to come before his eyes for him to adore it, woo it, and make it yield up its prize. He is ardent over every bounce with it until some private, mysterious, perhaps misunderstood dawn comes to pale his exuberance. Then he rushes off, carrying away from each separate triumph, no matter how great, only what Casanova carried away—that sense of his own impotence which was his most priceless possession, spurring him on as it did to new triumphs.

As far as Ben Hecht remembers, his life has been a single day—a long personal Fourth of July which he spent celebrating his own independence by shooting off a mouthful of firecrackers. It is a queer way to spend a lifetime, but who can say his own way is less queer or even better? Now that Hecht's day is coming into its evening, he feels regretful—but not over the way he has lived, only over the fact that he cannot go on doing it for another sixty years.

This is the way he ends his book. It

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*IRA WOLFERT, distinguished journalist and war correspondent, received a Pulitzer prize in 1943 for his dispatch on the fifth battle of the Solomons. His latest book is a revised version of his novel "An Act of Love."*



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is at a parade of volunteer firemen in Nyack, New York:

Here she stands—our daughter—vibrating beside us beneath the pillars of Mrs. Probst's porch. . . . Her hands float as if a dream were moving them. A heart with no baggage of yesterdays; a smile that explodes at the touch of sun or the sound of music; a look of mystery and talent—these are Jenny. . . . But now she is gone, racing down the street, leaping into the air at every fifth step. Watching her, I remember a lad in Racine. My book is done—but it is beginning all over again.

That's a fact. Hecht has gone through sixty years of life leaping into the air at every fifth step, and only a bore could fail to enjoy reading his account of it.


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# European Moderns

*MODERN PAINTING.* Text By Maurice Raynal. Translated by Stuart Gilbert. Skira. $25.

**By S. Lane Faison, Jr.**

THIS plush, handsomely printed tome offers the material contained in the second and third volumes of the Skira "History of Modern Painting" arranged according to a different scheme. Instead of a survey of major movements and individual artists as before, a strict time sequence now prevails. The new plan is not so novel as the publishers claim, since Rewald's "History of Impressionism" and one of Wilenski's books on French painting were similarly organized. The novelty lies in the application of the method to a collection of two hundred color plates: synchronization thus becomes *visual* and more readily fixed in the mind. By a clever use of folding pages collateral-contemporary material—for example, what Bonnard and Matisse were painting around 1910, during the rise of cubism—can be included conveniently without interrupting the narrative of the main developments.

The period covered is from 1884, when Seurat and some associates founded the Salon des Indépendants, to the present. The major contributions from France, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Germany, Russia, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia are all appropriately represented, but the single page on England and the inclusion of John Marin alone for America merely excuse the title, which should actually read Modern Painting in Europe. Furthermore, as Raynal explicitly states, the book does not survey younger talents or even those in middle age today. Younger critics will therefore argue that this is a book about old-timers. Significantly, the pace is speeded up rapidly after 1930, and the detailed and excellent coverage of the preceding pages is no longer provided. It is hard to get anything but a confusing picture of 1935-53 in twenty pages after one has read a hundred good ones on the years 1907-14.

Since the reproductions are printed directly on the page and not hand-tipped on coarser stock as before, the color has been intensified to a dangerous degree in order to compete successfully with the glare of the surrounding white paper. I fear many of the originals will seem an anti-climax to the viewer who first saw them jazzed up into super-posters, but these are conventions of the post black-and-white age to which the public will have to become adjusted by education and experience. The new method has one advantage: the plates are no longer cropped around the edges.

Welcome expansion of text and plates will be found in several sections, notably those on the Nabis—Vallotton, Denis, Vuillard, and others—and the Futurists. As before, the lists of events in chronological tables, the brief biographies, and the bibliographies make an important supplement to this generous treasure of color plates. The text is for the most part the same, with new introductions, transitions, and corrections.

# Recent Fiction

## The Age of Cain

*HACKENFELLER'S APE.* By Brigid Brophy. Random House. $2.75.

In less felicitous hands this brief story of the elderly biologist whose ambition it was to observe the mating in captivity of a pair of apes higher on the evolutionary scale than either gorilla or chimpanzee might easily have been farce or formula. Miss Brophy, who has the industry to make her most minor character an individual and the wit to see her situations as organic rather than mechanical sequences, has written a delicate satire with a cutting edge.

Professor Darrelhyde can reconcile himself to disappointment when Percy suffers schizophrenic conflict and rebels against the duty and desire that urge him to Edwina, but when it is proposed to utilize the ape as an experimental animal—passenger in a rocket—the biologist is outraged. Percy's life and potential parenthood must be saved.

But at every turn the professor meets the human will to be cruel or indifferent, perverse ("humanitarians" who en-



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joy photographs of tortured animals) or fearful (the rocket has something to do with defense; the magic word excuses any enormity). He discovers that he is indeed living in "the Age of Cain." Yet Miss Brophy does not leave it at that; she gives her blade another twist or two: man is capable of magnificent gestures, and the apes are not. Man may do good, not because it is good, but because some excitement may be engendered in the doing; and man, who cannot live intelligently, can die heroically —and pointlessly.

## Interesting Technique

*THE MANGO SEASON.* By Kathryn Grondahl. Morrow. $3.50.

Here is a pleasant first novel unexpectedly combining slick formula with some of the more important techniques of modern fiction. By manipulating point of view and time development, Kathryn Grondahl has given a dimension of depth to what would otherwise be a rather pedestrian tale of the "diplomatic set" in Bangkok, Siam.

There are, in "The Mango Season," English, American, French, Siamese, and several minor-league diplomats, together with their wives and occasional mistresses. There are a "native" man of mystery, a Eurasian woman of equal mystery, and an attempted coup d'état. There are also a wild French girl and an urbane young Britisher, a wholesome Wyoming girl and a clean-cut Iowa boy. There are, finally, the beautiful but unhappy wife of a diplomat who drinks and the sensitive, melancholy professor who is lonely.

Given these ingredients, readers will expect—with some justice—another potpourri for the mass market. "The Mango Season," however, cannot be dismissed quite so simply. Miss Grondahl has for the most part avoided stereotyped plot development, focusing instead on the slow unfolding of character within situation. Her novel is set in one week; most of the significant events have already occurred. As Miss Grondahl brings the reader to the minds of her characters, using brief, interlocking passages to form a chain of points of view, the whole picture is revealed.

Of course, Miss Grondahl is not always comfortable with this technique; accustomed to magazine audiences, she seems unwilling to ask much of her readers in the way of either attention or comprehension. The result is shallow prose—as if Virginia Woolf were writing for the *Ladies' Home Journal.*

## In Darkest Georgia

*YOUNGBLOOD.* By John O. Killens. Dial Press. $3.95.

A family chronicle of the Youngbloods—Laurie Lee, Joe, their children Robby (who looked like Joe Louis) and Jenny Lee—"Youngblood" has a certain eighteenth-century discursiveness and leisurely pace. It is no trouble for the author to stop his narrative and go back for an extended biography of one of the characters. Surprisingly, it is no trouble for the reader either, which indicates that while Mr. Killens has a tyro's willingness to flout the "rules" of writing, he has the professional's ability to get away with it.

In Crossroads, Georgia, the Youngbloods have a reputation as "good colored folks," a reputation earned by their patient industry, but Joe as a young man attempted to escape from the South, only to be forcibly "hired" on his way north. And Laurie Lee has taught her children fiercely not to submit to injustice at black hands or white. When the paternalism of the wealthy whites wears thin and the oppression of the Crackers become intolerable, the self-respect of the Youngbloods demands that they stand up to their tormentors, no matter what the cost.

"Youngblood" is described on the blurb as a documentary novel. Certainly the author has not hesitated to add any material which he feels might be even remotely relevant, including a "good" Cracker who is as unreal as Dickens's Riah and introduced for much the same purpose. In spite of its documentariness, its attribution of almost cloying virtue


# Young People Prevented From Knowing Hebrew History

(Beyond selling space for publication of the accompanying material, *The Nation* is not to be held responsible for statements contained in the material)

High school and college students are told what the best modern scholarship knows about the history of many nations; but they are not told with equal care what modern scholarship knows about Hebrew history. Every nation arises from the coalescence of antecedent stems; and so—"the children of Israel dwelt among the Canaanites, and took their daughters to be their wives, and gave their own daughters to their sons . . . They did not destroy the gentiles, but mingled themselves with the gentiles" (Judges 3 and Psalm 106). This racial coalescence gave rise to the Hebrew language and the Hebrew nation. The name Israel was applied to the composite Hebrew nation through the work of such leaders as Saul and David.

In Hebrew history two ideas of law came into conflict, inherited respectively from the original Israelite immigrants and from the Canaanites who previously possessed the country: (1) that all the members of a nomadic tribe or clan have a right to equal consideration under all circumstances, and (2) that the possessors, or "baals", who own the ground of a settled country have rights that supersede all others. These contrasted ideas were symbolized by the cult-names "Jehovah" and "Baal". And accordingly, when the soil concentrated in possession of great Hebrew landlords, a struggle broke out in which the Hebrew prophets took up the cause of "the poor and needy" against the wealthy adherents of the Baal-cult. The powerful warfare against Baal by the Hebrew prophets was the force that led gradually up to belief in One God who demands the practice of social justice (not socialism or communism) by all mankind.

If the Hebrew prophets, in the name of Jehovah, defended the cause of "the poor and needy" against the wealthy adherents of Baal, would this be embarrassing to teach young people? It is very different from the "orthodox" approach to the subject, even though it has nothing to do with socialism or communism.—A bulletin dealing with the problem will be sent to you upon receipt of a three-cent stamp. Failure to include a stamp will bring no result.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.




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to the Youngbloods and their friends, and its often pat situations, "Youngblood" is well worth the hours spent on its 566 pages.

## Profitless Voyage

*WINDWARD OF REASON.* By H. Gifford Irion. Dial. $3.50.

Mary Page, adopted by her cousin Charles Brendan, becomes the subject of an educational experiment: she is to be the first feminine philosopher trained to think logically, to be free of emotional impediments, to live on intellectual heights fortified by enlightened selfishness. Mr. Irion's description of the eleven-year-old girl from Virginia, her introduction to the staid, dull house in Boston, the careful, relentless forcing of her mind, and Mary's developing maturity are the foundations of a solid if sluggish novel whose strongest claim to attention is the author's facility in writing in the first person as a young girl.

"Windward of Reason" owes a great deal to "Bleak House"; many of the characters and situations are derivative, though pallid after long years. Cousin Charles is certainly Mr. Jarndyce; Mary writes and acts like an uncloying Esther Summerson; one begins to look for a Mr. Tulkinghorn or the suitor from Shropshire.

Unhappily, after modernizing Dickens for some five-sixths of its course, "Windward of Reason" suddenly yaws. The character of Mary changes, and in a manner inexplicable on the basis of all the author has previously established. The reader can only assume that Cousin Charles's great plan is totally defective, with evil implicit; he gets no clue from the author. It would almost seem that Mr. Irion, after carefully and lovingly writing most of his book, laid the manuscript aside and returned to it in a different and wearier mood.

## Objet d'Art

*VICTORIAN CHAISE LONGUE.* By Marghanita Laski. Houghton Mifflin. $2.75.

This very brief novel transports convalescent Melanie Langdon ninety years into the past, where she discovers the schizophrenic distortions, not only of another, hidden self, but of situation and surroundings. Attempting to dismiss the translation as a dream, a nightmare, a fever, she realizes with horror that she is becoming more and more deeply imprisoned in the past as memories of the strange woman she has become spring unbidden, though fragmentary, into her mind. Her present-day mind still functions, but she cannot articulate the twentieth-century words, only the rough nineteenth-century equivalents.

The conventions, superstitions, and medicine of the time conspire to condemn her to death. She can get no one to open a window as she stifles in the foul air; she is dosed with laudanum and swathed in heavy clothes. Her appeals for help are sympathetically dismissed as hallucinations of the very ill. Return to her own time, to her husband and child, seems unachievable. The Victorian in her is too strong.

British critics have acclaimed this as a tour de force and a chef-d'oeuvre; since "The Victorian Chaise Longue" depends so heavily on a word play it can certainly be called a bon mot.


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# Music

## B. H. Haggin

THE recent works of Jacques Barzun would keep me from reading anything of his I didn't have to read; but a translation of Berlioz letters looked not only like something he couldn't spoil but like something he should do especially well. He had given thought to the problem of translation—to the extent of an article in *Partisan Review;* and though what my eye caught as I turned the pages of the article was mostly the usual high-flown razzle-dazzle he did make one close-to-earth point about not translating idiomatic expressions like the French "Que voulez-vous?" literally (but amazed me by citing this as the only defect in a translation that he praised and that I had found shockingly bad—Scott-Moncrieff's of Proust); and this led one to hope that in the actual process of translating a French text he would stay close to earth.

The book, "New Letters of Berlioz 1830-1868" (Columbia, $4.50), with the French texts as well as Barzun's translations, turns out to be one of the Columbia University Bicentennial Editions and Studies under his general editorship. Which is to say that it turns out to be not just a volume of Berlioz letters but a sample of Columbia scholarship—in this instance a sample of Barzun scholarship. This doesn't mean just the profusion of notes, footnotes, additional notes, lists, etc. It means also a selection of only new letters, and for the most part letters concerned with negotiations and plans and arrangements for publication and performance and other business—letters which lend themselves to combining with Barzun's notes to make "a small-scale biography of Berlioz." And so it means the inclusion of only very few of the personal letters that are so moving.



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As for the translation, Barzun speaks in his introduction of the "careless way" in which Berlioz's letters have been published—of "words omitted, altered, and even added; and for good measure, but no good reason, the punctuation . . . entirely changed." He again opposes having "the French form or idiom remain visible beneath the English," and has "tried instead to find a native equivalent for Berlioz's prose, which is vivid, full of color. . . ." As so often happens, the intentions stated in the introduction could not be more admirable; the actual practice in the book could not be less.

Nor is it a matter of the handling of French idioms. Much of the writing is simple prose which requires only simple translation with the same order of words and clauses, the same punctuation, to preserve the original force, vividness, and color; instead of which Barzun omits, adds, changes words, order, and punctuation, makes clauses into separate sentences, makes separate sentences into clauses of one sentence, and in so doing often destroys the force, vividness, and color. Berlioz's "Rubini ne demande pas mieux" needs only to be translated simply as "Rubini asks nothing better"; and Barzun's "Rubini is eager to do it" may mean essentially the same thing but isn't what Berlioz says. So with Berlioz's "Ecrivez-moi, je vous en prie, quand vous le pourrez," in which he is saying "Write to me, I beg you, when you can," rather than Barzun's "Do, please, write to me when convenient." Or with Berlioz's "Quant à vous . . . je n'ai rien à dire," in which he is saying "As for you . . . I have nothing to say," rather than Barzun's "As for you . . . what can I say?" Or with Berlioz's "J'ai trop souffert, j'ai trop senti pour n'être pas bientôt éteint," in which he is saying "I have suffered too much, I have felt too much not to be used up soon," rather than Barzun's "I have suffered and felt too much not to etc." Or with Berlioz's "Monsieur et cher Confrère/J'ai lu avec une vive émotion la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire," in which he is saying "Sir and dear colleague/I have read with lively [or strong or great] emotion the letter you have done me the honor to write," rather than Barzun's "Dear Sir/I have been much moved by reading the letter you have favored me with." Or, in the same letter, Berlioz's "Il faut cependant l'honorer toujours, le respecter toujours, l'aimer toujours," in which he is saying "One must nevertheless honor it [music] always, respect it always, love it always," rather than Barzun's "Nevertheless, one must continue to honor it, respect it, love it—always."

And sometimes the essential meaning *is* changed. Berlioz's "Adieu, je vous avertirai du jour de la répétition" means "Good-bye, I'll let you know about the day of the rehearsal," not Barzun's "Farewell. I'll see you at the rehearsal." And when Berlioz writes his editor "Je n'ai pas reçu hier de billet ni de Monpou ni de vous, en consequence je n'ai pas vu la pièce nouvelle; il paraît qu'il n'y a pas grand mal que je m'en prive; faites faire une note par quelqu'un," he is saying "I didn't receive any tickets yesterday either from Monpou or from you, consequently I didn't see the new piece; apparently I suffered no great loss; have someone write a note"; and the point of his statement is eliminated by the omission of "yesterday" and "have someone write a note" in Barzun's "I have received no tickets, neither from Monpou nor from you, and consequently haven't seen the new piece—no great deprivation, apparently"—the point being that Berlioz had been supposed to review the new piece the night before but hadn't seen it and his editor must therefore get someone else to write a note about it.

In sum, in addition to offering a poor selection of letters Barzun destroys much of their effect by often unbelievable mistranslation. That effect—of Berlioz's vivid mind, personality, and literary gift —is evident even in the few isolated sentences I have quoted; and it is something only quotation can convey. I can't quote enough of the moving letters to Marmontel and the American addressed as Sir and dear Colleague; but here is a passage out of a staccato outpouring from London (with translation revised by me): ". . . departure of Wagner after the worthy Mr. Hogarth has introduced him in his proper turn to Mr. Meyerbeer, asking these two celebrities *if they knew each other,* joy of Wagner at leaving London, renewal of the critics' fury against him after the concert in Hanover Square, he conducts it is true in a free style . . . but he is very attractive in his ideas and conversation, we go to drink punch at his house after the concert, he renews his compliments to me, he embraces me with fury, saying he had had a mass of prejudices about me, he weeps, he stamps, hardly has he left when the *Musical World* publishes the passage in his book where he annihilates me in the most comical and witty fashion. . . ."

## Answer to the Query on page 149

1. Stephen D. Bechtel, President, Bechtel Corporation
3. Randolph W. Burgess, Chairman of Executive Committee, National City Bank
4. Norman Chandler, Publisher, Los Angeles *Times*
5. Lucius D. Clay, Chairman of the Board, Continental Can Company
7. Harlow H. Curtice, President, General Motors
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26. John J. McCloy, Chairman of the Board, Chase National Bank
29. Edward L. Ryerson, former Chairman of the Board, Inland Steel Corporation
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50. J. D. Zellerbach, President, Crown, Zellerbach Corporation



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## Letters

*(Continued from inside front cover)*

learn that twentieth-century facts have outrun nineteenth-century theories and that more is at stake today than the simple platitudes which the Brothers Dulles learned at their Princeton preceptors' knees.

*London* GEORGE RUDISILL, JR.

## Which Is Which?

*Dear Sirs:* The other evening I heard a newscaster report a claim by the North Korean Communist radio that the Republic of South Korea is a puppet of the United States and that therefore the United States is responsible for the actions of Syngman Rhee. I laughed. This, of course, was nonsense; everyone knows that the United States is a puppet of Syngman Rhee.

DAVID SCHWARTZ
*University Heights, Ohio*

## Complete Circle

*Dear Sirs:* The use of caves has been suggested in the event of an H-bomb attack. Historically, the circle is now complete—from cave dwellers to cave dwellers. And from the time man put fire on the earth to the time man put the earth on fire.

*La Mirada, Calif.* GARNET HELFEN

## Intercultural Program

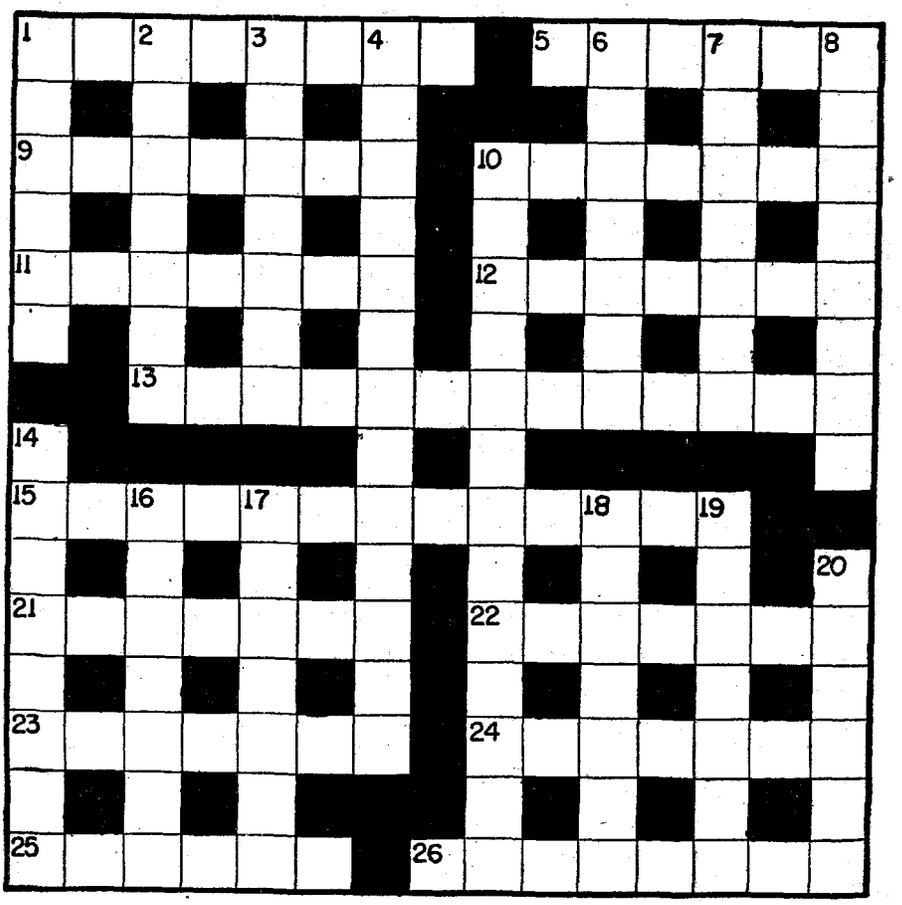
*Dear Sirs:* The Southland Jewish Organization is an educational and intercultural service organization, with headquarters at 5725 Melrose Avenue, Los Angeles 38, and membership chapters in Southern California. Now entering our twelfth year, we are interested in contacting organizations of a similar nature in different sections of the country for the mutual exchange of ideas, bulletins, and program planning. Our own activities fall into four main departmental committees—legislative, education, intercultural, and Jewish affairs. These are implemented through an active volunteer membership, operating through regular chapter meetings.

We feel there has been a wholesome resurgence of liberal and progressive thought within recent months which we hope is an encouraging sign for the future. Perhaps there are ways of channeling this sentiment into useful activities. At any rate, we believe it would be profitable to explore these thoughts farther through the interchange of ideas and material with other groups whose aims and purposes are similar to ours. Correspondence and suggestions are invited.

(MRS.) MITZI ROSENBLATT,
Corresponding Secretary
*Los Angeles, Calif.*

# Crossword Puzzle No. 581

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



### ACROSS

1 A few rulers have this as a unit. (8)
5 See 18 down.
9 A tale of medieval France. (7)
10 Where half a hundred might be within reason, more or less? (7)
11 Cause to be dead set about it? (7)
12 Melted, if ice-cream contains it. (7)
13 Not exactly Omaha or Utah, but if you come right down to it you're lucky to walk away . (6, 7)
15 Was Mann referring to a heap of tricks? (5, 8)
21 Col. Calverley had one for a heavy dragoon. (7)
22 A good deal of restriction on profits! (7)
23 Associate. (7)
24 Rages on in beastly fashion. (7)
25 Lodge. (6)
26 Twisted and also tied by itself? (8)

### DOWN

1 Piscine and aloof? (6)
2 Fibrine method of court presentation, (2, 5)
3 A feather might make a wood-cutter sick with a third of classical education. (7)
4 Not the palace gossip! (5, 8)
6 A big hotel in Estonia. (Revel there, say the Russians.) (7)
7 Does one swallow make a drink? Quite the opposite! (7)
8 There's one in process! (5, 3)
10 One of these isn't a treatise on witchcraft. (8, 5)
14 It isn't nice, and one might catch the devil for it. (8)
16 Do they carry the game? (2–5)
17 Rocked, perhaps, like a cinder. (7)
18 and 5 across. Their fixation implies high-flown words. (3, 4, 6)
19 Next thing to an eastern variety. (7)
20 With 5, they probably haven't been licked. (6)

• ● •

**SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 580**

ACROSS:—1, 20 and 25 CLEANLINESS IS NEXT TO GODLINESS; 10 BROTH; 12 DESERTERS; 13 SERUM; 14 BESSARABIANS; 19 DRAFT-DODGERS; 23 U BOLT; 24 TITTERERS; 26 OCTAD; 27 DECOMPOSITION.

DOWN:—2 LAO-TSE; 3 ABHORRENT; 4 and 11 LETTERS TO THE EDITOR; 5 NEEDS; 6 SIDES; 7 INTERNAL; 8 ABODE; 9 PROMISE; 15 RIGHTISTS; 16 BURNED OUT; 17 ADJUDGE; 18 CABOODLE; 21 ASIDE; 23 TAINO; 24 TIE-UP.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.



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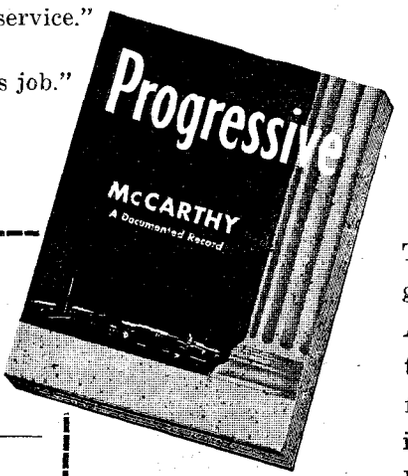


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